

DELFT - HAVEN.



THE
PILGRIM FATHERS
OF
NEW ENGLAND.



CHURCH AT AUSTERFIELD.

(Birth place of William Bradford)

THE
PILGRIM FATHERS;

OR,

The Founders of New England

IN

THE REIGN OF JAMES THE FIRST.

BY

W. H. BARTLETT,

AUTHOR OF "FORTY DAYS IN THE DESERT."

With Illustrations.

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TO

DR. WILLIAM BEATTIE

THIS BOOK IS INSCRIBED

IN GRATEFUL ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF HIS UNVARYING

KINDNESS

DURING A PERIOD

OF MORE THAN TWENTY YEARS.

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P R E F A C E.

OF the many heroical emigrations from our island home which have covered the face of the world with powerful colonies, and carried our language and literature to the remotest bounds of the earth, no one is perhaps more singular, and even romantic, than that of the band of sectaries driven forth in the reign of James I., on whom the veneration of their American posterity has bestowed the title of "THE PILGRIM FATHERS." Their story well exemplifies the providential law which evolves good out of evil. In an age when the doctrines of toleration were unknown, they were thrust forth from their native land, on account of their religious opinions, and compelled to carry them to the shores of the New World. Thus the harshness and intolerance of the rulers in Church and State became, in fact, the very instrument in producing a form of character, and bringing about a train of circumstances, which have planted on the shores

of America a mighty republic, the proudest and most powerful offshoot of the mother country, whose institutions, moreover, as thus founded, are not without a powerful reaction upon her own.

The details of this story are almost unknown to the mass of English readers: on the other side of the Atlantic they are familiar to almost every child—at least, in the New England states—and numerous are the works that have been published in illustration of them. Many an American pilgrim has sought out the churches of Boston or Leyden where his pious forefathers worshipped, and endeavoured to trace out every footstep of their chequered career—from England to Holland, and from Holland again to the New World. But these publications and researches are almost unknown in England; and it has therefore occurred to the writer of this volume that it might not be altogether uninteresting to compress the scattered particulars of the tale into a continuous narrative, and to give it additional clearness by illustrations of the different localities connected with it. These he has accordingly sought out in England, Holland, and America; and it is from these pen-and-pencil memorials, and these alone, that his work can lay claim to any distinctive originality.

It is, indeed, but fair to state, that excepting these

results of personal survey, this work pretends to no merit beyond that of a careful compilation. The chief sources whence it is derived are the original chronicles of the Pilgrims, collected by Mr. Young, of Boston, to which, and to the valuable notes annexed to them, the principal obligation is justly due. The researches of Mr. Sumner, at Leyden, published by the Massachusetts Historical Society, have also been freely used, and no less the valuable discoveries made in England by that distinguished antiquary, the Rev. Joseph Hunter. The latter are small pamphlets, and necessarily confined to but few readers. Much information has been gleaned from a pamphlet by the Rev. J. Waddington, of Southwark. Nor is the author less indebted to the excellent "Guide to Plymouth," prepared by Mr. W. S. Russell, keeper of the Old Colony Records, whom he has also to thank for much courtesy and assistance rendered during his visit to America.

While faithfully exposing the intolerance in Church and State—unavoidable, perhaps, in such an age—which led to the expatriation of the Pilgrims, the writer is anxious to disclaim any feeling of sectarian animosity, or to identify himself with the peculiar religious doctrines of the Pilgrims. Few members of the Church of England, we presume, will in these days approve of the severities which,

when the principles of toleration were unknown and the feelings of humanity less cultivated than at present, were exercised towards Dissenters. This work, unlike some that have been written on the subject, has no theological purpose or predilection. Its sole aim is to do justice to the greatness of soul displayed by the founders of New England,—to their piety, their patriotism, their heroism, their practical wisdom. They were men who accomplished a great purpose, of whom the nation that drove them forth may justly be proud; and it is time to cast aside the lingering prejudices generated by political and religious animosity, and to enrol their names among the best and worthiest whom this country has ever produced.

CHAPTER I.

The Pilgrims in England.

ORIGIN OF THE PURITANS.—SCHISM IN THE CHURCH.—RISE OF THE INDEPENDENTS.—CONGREGATION AT SCROOBY.—WILLIAM BREWSTER.—RICHARD CLYFTON.—JOHN ROBINSON.—WILLIAM BRADFORD.—MYLES STANDISH.—NOTICES OF EMMANUEL COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.—SCROOBY—AUSTERFIELD.—STANDISH AND DUXBURY.—PERSECUTION AND SUFFERINGS OF THE INDEPENDENTS.—RESOLUTION TO EMIGRATE.—DISAPPOINTMENT AT GRIMSBY.—IMPRISONMENT AT BOSTON.—NOTICES OF THAT TOWN, ITS CHURCH, OLD BUILDINGS, ETC.—EMIGRATION OF WINTHROP.—FINAL ESCAPE OF THE PILGRIMS TO HOLLAND.

The origin of the sect or party called *Puritans*, who, after a long and doubtful warfare against arbitrary power, at length in England subverted the monarchy and overturned the Church, and in America laid the foundation of the most mighty republic the world has ever known, may in fact be traced as far back as to the first protest against the errors of Catholicism in the days of Wickliffe, although their full development was not reached until after the period of the Reformation.

When Luther first began to thunder against the papacy, Henry VIII. earned from the Pope the flattering title of Defender of the Faith, by the zeal with which he replied to the attacks of the great Reformer. But as pride and passion were the mainsprings of this monarch's actions, it was not long before the refusal of the Pope to sanction his marriage with a fresh object of passion suddenly opened his eyes to the errors of the

Court of Rome. The supremacy of the pope was soon replaced by that of the arbitrary monarch himself, who now assumed the sole right of defining the belief and governing the consciences of his subjects. Thus while on the one hand he put to death Sir Thomas More and other Catholics, for their conscientious refusal to take the oath of supremacy on the other he brought to the stake Anne Askew, and fellow-victims who avowed the tenets of the Reformers. But though the spell of blind subservience to Rome, the great bar to spiritual and intellectual enfranchisement, was thus for ever broken, and though the monastic system was overthrown, as yet the change made in the national religion or the feelings of the people was for a long time inconsiderable.

During the short reign of Edward VI. the work of remodelling the Church proceeded with accelerated impulse. The principle of the royal supremacy being retained, the great object was next to conciliate on the one hand such as still retained a strong attachment to the Romish ritual and ceremonies, and those, on the other, who desired to see every vestige of them swept away, in accordance with the tenets and practice of the reformed churches founded abroad by Calvin.

The result of this compromise was the actual constitution of the Church of England. In drawing up her Articles and formularies it was the object of the Reformers to combine what seemed excellent both in the old system and the new. Those prayers composed by saints of the early church, and which have never been exceeded by any uninspired pen, were translated from the Latin, and embodied in the new ritual for the benefit of the common people. In the rites and ceremonies a decent medium was observed between the gorgeous excess of Rome and the bald simplicity of Geneva. The surplice and a few simple vestments were still retained as decent and becoming. Indeed, in some few cases observances were still kept up which savoured more directly of the banished superstition—such as the sign of the cross in baptism, and the bowing the knee at the mention of the name

of Jesus. On the other hand, the Articles bore no less evident traces of the theology of Geneva, with which so large a body of the Reformers were then so deeply imbued.

Scarcely had the Church, as thus remoulded, become successfully established, and by the zeal and eloquence of its great leaders, such as Ridley, Latimer, Cranmer, and Hooper, made rapid progress in rooting out what yet remained in the public mind of lingering attachment to the old religion, than it was exposed, by the accession of Queen Mary, to the ordeal of a bloody persecution. Those prelates who remained and exposed themselves to its fury, were called upon to testify to their profession at the stake, and by their glorious deaths reflected a lustre upon the cause of the newly founded Church, and caused it to spread and take deep root in the affections of the English people. Many, however, sought refuge from the passing storm at Frankfort, Basle, Zurich, and Geneva, where they established Protestant congregations. In constant communion with the reformed sects in those places, not only did they become more attached to their simple austere ritual and to their democratic form of church government, but also in no small measure imbued, by contact with republican institutions, with a tendency to resist the encroachments of arbitrary power, no less in civil than in religious matters.

Upon the accession of Elizabeth, this body of exiles, active, zealous, and energetic, returned to England, bent upon the great design of extirpating from the constitution of the Church what they deemed the last degrading vestiges of popery, and remodelling it after the doctrines and practices of the continental reformers. Even when abroad, the new Book of Common Prayer, put forth by Edward VI., had been the subject of much acrimonious dispute. Those exiles who had retired to Frankfort contended for its authority, while those at Geneva were desirous of a model made in accordance with the practice of that church. On returning home, the first mentioned

party were installed in the chief places of the Church, as firmly bent upon maintaining the royal supremacy, and enforcing uniformity of belief and practice, as the others were determined upon effecting what they deemed a more sweeping reformation.

And now commenced a stern and unrelenting struggle, in which both parties, firm in their conscientious convictions, were ready, for what they deemed the truth's sake, alike to inflict or to endure the extremity of suffering, so that they could but silence, or if needful, even suppress their enemy. The High Church party, feeling themselves firmly entrenched in the height of power, in alliance with a monarchy almost absolute, and able to command the interference of the magistrate, resolved to admit no compromise with their opponents. The Puritans, on the other hand, exposed to the utmost rage of persecution, could only oppose to it an indomitable firmness and tenacity. But this relative position of the parties was merely accidental,—the principle that actuated them was alike in both. The doctrines of toleration were then unknown, and all sects would have considered themselves but lukewarm adherents to the cause of what they believed the truth, had they hesitated when in power to obtain its establishment by force. Both Prelatist and Puritan were in this respect alike, and when their position was at length reversed, and the latter party obtained the ascendancy, they showed by the severity with which in England they avenged their sufferings upon the fallen Episcopalians, and in America by the rigour with which they put down all sects but their own, that they knew but too well how to copy the lesson taught to them by their persecutors. Indeed, Neal, their own historian, is compelled to admit that “both parties agreed too well in asserting the necessity of a uniformity of public worship, and of using the sword of the magistrate for the support and defence of their respective principles, which they made an ill use of in their turns, whenever they could grasp the power into their own hands.”

In the first instance the Puritans had confined their complaints

to such trifling remains of the popish vestments as had been retained by Cranmer and the founders of the Church for the sake of decent solemnity. In these objections many of the bishops went along with them, and earnest protests were made to those in authority, that a conformity in this respect should not be insisted upon. But the Queen was so resolved to impose uniformity in discipline by her own prerogative, that she issued directions to Archbishop Parker to maintain the order required by law. This prelate needed no spur to carry out a measure congenial with his own wishes. The recusant clergy were summoned to subscribe an agreement to submit to the Queen's orders, and those who refused were forthwith ejected from their livings, and reduced to a state of destitution.

This severity produced the natural result, of widening the breach between the Puritans and their persecutors. Driven from their pulpits and their homes, they now began to travel the country and disseminate their views by preaching and issuing pamphlets, in defiance of fine and imprisonment; and finally they began to break off from the Establishment in large numbers, and set up separate places of worship in accordance with their own views. This attempt to evade the rigour of ecclesiastical discipline was only met with more stringent severities. Under the act compelling attendance upon public worship, great numbers of the separatists were brought before the Commissioners, and punished with fine and imprisonment. The publications of the suffering and exasperated sectaries now became more fierce and scurrilous, and a warm controversy was kept up between their leaders and those of the Episcopalians. The latter, stimulated by the Queen, and finding that they could not silence their opponents by argument, resolved to crush them by still heavier penalties. Among the first sufferers was John Udal, who, for refusing to swear to answer any questions inculpatory of himself or others, was, though he had taken the oath of allegiance, sentenced to death as a felon, and only escaped

execution by dying in prison. And such continued to be the condition of the Puritans during the remainder of Elizabeth's reign.

Upon the accession of James their spirits rose, but only, after a short interval, to give way to the most bitter disappointment. They flattered themselves that as the new monarch had been educated in Presbyterianism, and even written in defence of its doctrines, they might expect no less than toleration, and possibly attain ascendancy. The truth, however, was that James hated both Presbyterians and Puritans with a perfect hatred. He could never forget that the former body had been largely concerned in the sufferings of his unhappy mother,—how they had browbeaten and hedged him in during his stay in Scotland, and in a manner compelled him to write in favour of a system which it is evident his heart abhorred. The vexations, moreover, had abundantly demonstrated to him that the spirit which animated the disciples of Knox and Calvin tended as naturally towards republicanism, as that which animated the bishops was firmly allied to monarchy.

The Puritans lost no time in presenting to the King a petition, signed by eight hundred and twenty-five ministers, praying for the removal of superstitious usages and other abuses which deformed the Church; to which the University of Oxford speedily issued a reply. This attitude of the rival parties opened a welcome opportunity for James to display those profound theological attainments, and that skill in managing a controversy, upon which he above all things prided himself; it furnished besides a no less propitious occasion to humble and confound the Puritans. He, therefore, in reply to the petition, proclaimed a conference between both parties, to discuss the disputed points, he himself taking the lion's share in argument, and also acting as umpire, no less qualified, as he flattered himself, for the office by his skill in polemic warfare, than authorized by his position of supreme head of the Church.

This conference was held at Hampton Court Palace. The

Puritans were represented by Dr. Rainolds and only three divines; while on the other side was an array of nearly twenty bishops, besides the lords of the privy council and their adherents, all eager to applaud to the echo the effusions of the royal wisdom. The Conference, it is needless to say, was a mere mockery. The complaint of the Puritans was too evidently well founded,—that the king sent for their divines, not to have their scruples satisfied, but his pleasure propounded; not that he might know what they could *say*, but they, what he would *do* in the matter. After they had opened the conference by enumerating their objections, and had been answered by the bishops, James himself took up the cudgels in favour of the latter. He overwhelmed the unfortunate Puritans, who dared not venture to reply, with a stupendous display of pedantry, encouraged by the sycophantic smiles of the prelates and courtiers, and browbeat and ridiculed them in the coarsest manner. One reason of his dislike, suggested no doubt by his Scottish experiences, he plainly avowed, was the tendency of Puritanism to oppose itself to arbitrary power both in Church and State. And it must be confessed that his aphorism, “No bishop, no king,” was fully verified by the experience of his successor. “If,” he said to them, “you aim at a Scottish Presbytery, it agrees as well with monarchy as God with the devil. I will none of that. I will have one doctrine and one discipline, one religion in substance and in ceremony.” Finally, after venting sundry bitter sarcasms against his indignant yet trembling adversaries, he turned to Dr. Rainolds, and triumphantly inquired, “Well, Doctor, have you anything more to say?” The poor doctor, of course, could only bow in silence. Then telling them that had they argued thus vilely at college, they would hardly have escaped whipping, he broke up the pretended conference, and as he rose from his chair exclaimed, “If this be all that they have to say, I shall make them conform themselves, or I will harry them out of the land, or yet do worse.” During this scene the

bishops were in ecstasies. Bancroft fell on his knees, and blessed God for sending them such a king as since Christ's time had not been seen; and Whitgift and the courtiers declared that "undoubtedly his Majesty spake by the special assistance of God's Spirit." The mean, pedantic, narrow-minded buffoon retired amidst the applause which of all others was dearest to his heart—that of an approved master in the mazes of theological controversy. "I peppered them soundly," he cried in an ecstasy of conceit; "they fled me from argument to argument like school-boys." The Bishops were swollen with the insolence of triumph; the Puritans filled with indignation and despair.

From this period they appear to have given up all hope of effecting a reform in the Church, and although many yet entertained conscientious scruples against leaving her communion, a largely increasing number became separatists. The two parties henceforth diverged more widely in their principles, and the antagonism between them became envenomed. The cruel severity with which the Court party enforced conformity or punished separation, their evident tendency to approach nearer to the Romish ceremonies rather than recede further from them, their laxity of doctrine, and their desecration and violation of the Sabbath, tended to increase the aversion of the Puritans to constituted authority, to deepen their peculiar enthusiasm, and cast a still gloomier shade over their already austere demeanour.

In politics no less than religion the two parties continued to recede still further from each other. The Church clung more closely to the monarchy, and lending her whole influence to maintain its ascendancy, identified herself with the cause of arbitrary power. The Puritans, on the other hand, became the advocates of civil, no less than religious liberty. They fell in, no less from conviction than from personal hostility to the adherents of the prerogative, with that rising party of patriots, who were bent upon resisting the encroachments of tyranny, and eventually

hurled it into the dust. The first, tenaciously conservative, after many shocks and vicissitudes still forms an integral part of the institutions of Great Britain. The last, republican in their tendencies, dissatisfied with the restrictions imposed upon them at home, carried their theories of government to the shores of the New World, and laid the foundations of a mighty commonwealth, which retains to this day deep and indelible traces of the parentage from which it sprung.

Nor in manners and deportment did there exist a less irreconcilable hostility. Under the Catholic system, the common people had been accustomed to manly sports and exercises, and to rustic games—some of which, indeed, such as bear-baiting, were at that day, though cruel, equally the favourites of all classes of society, as is the bull-fight in Spain at the present day. Many of the High Church party either winked at these things, as popular tastes which could not be immediately eradicated, or openly encouraged them in opposition to the Puritans. The very name of *Puritan*, on the other hand, had been contemptuously bestowed on the rising sect, from their pretensions to superior sanctity of life. Undoubtedly they regarded, and with no small reason, the popular tastes and amusements as being both low and brutalizing in their tendency, and inconsistent with the seriousness of a professing Christian. But in opposing them, they went unfortunately to the very opposite extreme. In the severe, but hardly overstrained language of Macaulay, “the dress, the deportment, the language, the studies, the amusements of the rigid sect were regulated on principles resembling those of the Pharisees, who, proud of their washed hands and broad phylacteries, taunted the Redeemer as a Sabbath-breaker and a wine-bibber. It was a sin to hang garlands on a maypole, to drink a friend’s health, to fly a hawk, to hunt a stag, to play at chess, to wear love-locks, to put starch into a ruff, to touch the virginals, to read the Faerie Queen. Rules such as these—rules which would have appeared insup-

portable to the free and joyous spirit of Luther, and contemptible to the serene and philosophical intellect of Zwingle—threw over all life a more than monastic gloom. . . . In defiance of the express and reiterated declarations of Luther and Calvin, they turned the weekly festival by which the Church had, from the primitive times, commemorated the resurrection of her Lord, into a Jewish Sabbath."

In returning from a visit to Scotland, where he was no less annoyed at the stubborn obstinacy of the Presbyterians than disgusted with the strictness of these Sabbatical observances, James, in passing through Lancashire, where the Catholics were and still are very numerous, received many petitions against this growing strictness of the Puritans as regards the Sabbath, which, it was affirmed, drove men to popery and the alehouse, where "they censured in their cups his Majesty's proceedings in Church and State." Accordingly, no sooner had the king reached London than, calling in the assistance of sundry bishops, he concocted his famous "Book of Sports," in which, with his vaunted sagacity, he set himself to discriminate those legitimate pastimes in which his good subjects were authorized and enjoined to indulge after divine service, from those proper only to be used for the rest of the week. Running, vaulting, archery and athletic sports were allowed, but bear or bull-baiting forbidden. Although Archbishop Abbot was known to be opposed, both from principle and policy, to the measure, his Majesty also insisted that the clergy should read the ordinance from their pulpits. It was regarded by the Puritans as a trap cunningly set to catch them. Such as from conscientious motives refused to comply were brought before the High Commission Court, and punished for their contumacy.

At length an increasing number of the Puritans, who, so long as they entertained a hope of remodelling the Church after their own fashion, had conformed to, if not approved of, its general form of government, that hope being no longer possible, began

to question its very framework, and boldly to deny all Episcopal jurisdiction and State influence as alike antichristian and pernicious. By degrees they attained clearer conceptions of religious liberty, terminating at last in what is now known as the *voluntary system*, or *Independency*. According to these new views, any congregation of believers freely associating together constituted a separate church, having the liberty to choose its own pastor or bishop, (for to this sense they restricted the meaning of the latter office,) appoint their own officers, and perform all the functions of self-government, with an absolute independence of all foreign control, whether ecclesiastical or civil. This system was originally called Brownism, after Robert Browne, a Puritan minister, by whom it was originated, or, at all events, chiefly promulgated.

He was a man of high family, related to Lord Treasurer Burleigh, and chaplain to the Duke of Norfolk. Like others of his brethren, he had at first confined his views to what he deemed the reformation of the National Church; but failing in this object, bitterly inveighed against it both from the pulpit and press. His high connexions saved him from the extreme penalty which his fiery temper and daring zeal would in all probability have brought upon him; but he was, nevertheless, a mark for persecution, and had, it is said, been in no less than thirty-two prisons, in some of which he could not see his hand at noon-day. Flying at length to Holland, he became pastor of a Separatist congregation, with whom, however, he speedily quarrelled, and, returning to England, closed at length his erratic and troubled career by renouncing his nonconformity, and accepting a benefice in the Establishment he had laboured to destroy.

Whatever might have been the motive of this recantation, it is not to be wondered at that Browne should have been deemed a renegade by his party, and that they should have earnestly repudiated all connexion with him. But though his memory

was consigned to ignominy, the principles founded by him were cherished more warmly than ever. The tyranny of the bishops, anxious to weed out this novel and dangerous doctrine, served only to give it the deeper root. Congregations were secretly gathered together in the northern counties, and able and learned Puritan ministers who had embraced the new principle were chosen to preside over them.

Connected with this part of our subject the following notices, most obligingly communicated by the Rev. John Waddington (pastor of the Southwark church), and who has been long and successfully engaged in these inquiries, with a view to publication, will be read with considerable interest.

“The origin of the Pilgrim movement when traced to its various tributary springs, so long concealed, will be found richly to repay the utmost amount of care and diligence that can be devoted to the inquiry.

“The *Magnflower* was the result of a lengthened course of conscientious sacrifice and endurance for scriptural principles, commencing with the earliest days of the reformation in England. A Christian society, composed of artisans, whose names can be given from authentic documents, met, near the close of the sixteenth century, in the house of Roger Rippon, in Southwark, to spend their Sabbaths in the mutual exposition of the word of God, just as Thomas Man assembled with his brethren for the same purpose on the banks of the Thames, at the beginning of that century. Francis Johnson became the pastor of this little company, in 1592. The martyrs Henry Barrow, John Greenwood, and John Penry, were closely identified with him, and contributed much by their writings to its confirmation. At one time, when the majority of the members were in bonds, the church, by the connivance of the jailor, held its meetings for the reception of new members within the walls of the prison.

“Contemporaneously with this separatist church in the south of England a similar Christian association assembled in secret on

the banks of the Trent, in Lincolnshire—the successors of the Bible readers who met by stealth in that county in the days of Cardinal Wolsey.

“Immediately after the martyrdom of Penry, and at his dying request, the brethren in London conferred with their friends in the North, as to the measures they should adopt for their departure in a body to some distant country. A petition, still extant in the original, was presented to the Privy Council for this object, at the time, but with no immediate success.

“Francis Johnson went from the Clink prison, in Southwark, to accept the pastorate of the church in Amsterdam. John Smyth (a pupil of Johnson’s), and a prisoner subsequently in the Marshalsea, in Southwark, was chosen pastor of the church at Gainsborough, in 1602. He corresponded with the church at Scrooby, before Robinson and Clyfton went there, at the house of William Brewster.

“Henry Jacob, who was immured in the same prison in which Barrowe, Greenwood, and Johnson had been in turn confined, went from the Clink to Leyden, and was the teacher of a small Christian society there, a short time before the arrival of Robinson and his company in that city. He returned from Holland to form a congregational church in Southwark, in 1616.

“John Lothrop succeeded him in Leyden, and the little church continued to exist there after the removal of the Pilgrims.

“The Mayflower sailed from the Thames, within sight of the place in which the separatists met in 1592, and amongst her passengers were members of the church who received their principles from the Pilgrim martyrs.

“On the removal of Jacob to America, John Lothrop took his place in Southwark, and in 1634 went, with thirty of the members, to Scituate, in New England; and, in conjunction with a number of brethren dismissed from Plymouth for the purpose, formed a church in that locality. The moral affinities between the two branches of the Pilgrim family might be traced much

further, and the whole subject elucidated by original documents ; but for the present this brief outline may suffice. It may be mentioned that, in 1851, a lineal descendant of John Lothrop visited the church in Southwark—removed from Deadman's Place (the site of Barclay's Brewery), and now meeting in an obscure yard in Union-street, near High-street, Borough—soon to pass out of its possession, from the lapse of the lease. The present year, 1853, is the bi-centenary of John Lothrop's death."

Among these congregational churches in the North was one, which, under the venerable name of the "Pilgrim Fathers," has attained a celebrity of which its members little dreamed.

As to the place of their origin, Bradford, their historian, vaguely informs us that it was near "the joining borders of Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire;" to which he adds, that their place of meeting was at "a manor of the bishop's," then occupied by Brewster.

It is to the critical acumen and persevering research of a distinguished antiquary, the Rev. Joseph Hunter, F.S.A., that we are indebted for a knowledge of the precise locality. He informs us, that after a diligent scrutiny he finds no place that answers this definition exactly, except Scrooby, in Nottinghamshire, and the principal mansion of that village, the house which had been for centuries a palace of the archbishops of York, but which was in those days held under one of the many leases of episcopal lands granted by Archbishop Sandys. Certainly no spot could better answer to Bradford's description than this, since it is situated on the borders of Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire, and only six miles from the nearest point in the county of Lincoln. "And," to use Mr. Hunter's own words, "that no hesitation may remain respecting this point, I shall anticipate what will hereafter come more fully before us, and state that we find a Brewster assessed to a subsidy, granted to Queen Elizabeth, on the township of Scrooby-cum-Ranskill, and that in 1608, when a fine was im-

posed upon William Brewster by the commissioners for ecclesiastical causes, he is described as being of Scrooby." A collateral, though unnecessary evidence, is found in the fact that the village of Austerfield (incorrectly, as Mr. H. observes, spelt *Anstérfield* by the printer of Cotton's *Magnalia*), the birth-place and residence of William Bradford, is within two or three miles of Scrooby ; and Bradford, we know, became a convert from